1:Sanders Z-5,† (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Greek Villager]

369 round of activities and so different from the city-dwelling Greek, true heirs
184 of the classic Greek cultural heritage along with the city dweller? Are they
174 objects for Hellenization as interpreted by the city Greeks, or are they in their own right living representatives of Greece, both past and present?

The "racial purity" of the people need not concern us here, since we are thinking of Greece as a state of mind, a political and cultural ideal, and a society organized to try to meet the needs of its members. One thing is
[191] quite clear: a sizable minority of the rural folk in Greece today still speak
[197] Albanian, Vlach, Macedonian, or even Turkish as their mother tongue.[14] Strangely enough, most of these rural families are as Greek in their loyalties, sentiments, and point of view as the Greek whose linguistic and cultural inheritance is unmixed. It might even be shown that the majority of what we call the Greek villagers, especially outside the Peloponnesos, have today been assimilated culturally rather than racially into the Greek nation. Even should this be the case, that would support the view that there is a Greek cultural reality which has had an unusual persistence through the centuries.

What does the peasant, whether agriculturist or shepherd, show us about this culture which the city Greek does not? In the first place, the peasants have always been the stable population element in the homeland. While cities rose and fell in prominence, the city Greek went far from his homeland. One hundred years ago Athens, the mother city, was only a run-down settlement, whereas many villages such as Megara, between Athens and Corinth, have been lived in continuously and even more vigorously for centuries. No matter what invading people came into Greece to settle on the land as peasants, they apparently experienced an assimilation into the Greek traditions, influencing but not imposing their own traditions on the native group. Thus there has been a cultural, even if not an altogether unmixed racial, continuity.

In the second place, the peasant has remained directly dependent on the same natural environment. In this respect he is closer to the ancient Greek than is the modern city Greek whose psychological dependence is more on the legacy of imperial Byzantium than on the Parthenon, that symbol of classic simplicity springing from the rock of Greece. It would be rash to claim that the peasant embodies the true spirit of Greece more exactly than do his fellow Greeks of city and sea, but it is fair to say that without understanding the peasant one cannot fully understand the roots and substance of contemporary Greece.

184 As each color of the rainbow blends into the whole spectrum, so these
369 three groupings of people — the city dweller, seafarer, and peasant — blend into each other to form the Greek nation of today. Most of those who in recent years have increased the city population are of peasant stock;
[854] the children of the wealthy Greeks are often tended from infancy by nurses

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

[The Greek Villager]

from a distant island or an isolated mainland village. On the other hand, almost every village home contains photographs of relatives who have taken on the habits of the city. All islanders are not seafarers, for the majority of those in the larger islands live from the soil as do the peasants of the mainland. There is thus a lively interdependence among the urbanite, the seafarer, and the villager.

This interdependence, not always recognized by the Greeks themselves, has a fascination for the Western observer who is curious about the working of a society other than his own. For him the panorama of Greece is a source of enchantment. Now brilliant, now shadowy, through it the thread of tradition runs. Who are the carriers of this continuity? What has insulated the thread against time? It is doubtful whether the answers can be found in the clear, cold, statistical analysis of the social scientist. But an observer trained in the scientific method, with a background of Greek history and literature and an acquaintance with modern Greece that began with a first visit there thirty years ago, may be able to give interpretations and insights helpful to those interested in contemporary Greece.

Such interpretations may even have a broader implication. The Greeks differ in innumerable ways from Asian peoples and from those of the Middle East and Africa. Nevertheless, most Greeks on the mainland live in villages which are much closer in tempo and quality of life to villages on other continents than to anything one can find in the United States. They work small plots of land, scattered in strips around their villages, as do many rural people throughout the world, in sharp contrast to the mechanized American farm of several hundred acres; they know the meaning of hunger, of poverty, of the catastrophe of war and violence, which most Americans fortunately have not had to experience, but which is all too common in the newly developing countries; they also face many of the same problems of relationship to the central government and its services, of accepting or rejecting national programs of rural change.

To know the rural Greek, therefore, is to know more about rural humanity, most of which lives in a different social world from our own city-dominated society. Village people want to be seen not as cannon fodder, potential customers, religious or political converts, but as parents hoping for a better life for their children, as farmers wishing better yields to feed the family until next harvest, as new citizens — not yet secure in their franchise — learning the rudiments of the political process. Even more important, they want to be seen as individuals, with all the rich color this word conveys.

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

In Greece today one finds an interesting mixture of traditional child-care practices and those based on Western medical knowledge. For one thing, swaddling is almost universally followed for at least three months. The peasants tell you that the baby must be swaddled if it is to grow straight, tall, and strong. This was the answer of a mother of a three-month-old infant in Leptochoria, a village near Kilkis, Macedonia. Although she had spent four years in urban Thessalonike during the guerrilla war, her ideas of child care had undergone little change. She never dreamed that there was any other way to take care of a baby than to swaddle it. She saw no need to point out the obvious advantages of being able to hang the tight little bundle under a shady limb near the field where she worked, or of being sure that the baby would not wriggle itself into a fall while the mother temporarily left the room where it was propped up.[4]

But when we talked about the field the mother said, "I took the baby with me to the field twice but each time it got sick. So the next time I go I shall leave it with a neighbor."

"Suppose you were working in the field and your husband were at home, would he take care of it?"

"Oh, he would look after it but he wouldn't change it." And then she summed up the different approaches of the two parents: "The woman will nurse the child when it cries; the man will slap it."

According to anthropologist Dorothy Lee, the child-care manuals published in Athens recommend nursing by the mother until the fourteenth month or even up to two years and deplore the use of a wet nurse; they urge against the handing of crusts or bones to the infants since fragments might lodge in the throat. Apparently, the rigid schedule of feeding which they urge is little observed in the villages, nor is the use of the crib or bassinet as substitute for the swing cradle which is in common use.

In pursuing the subject of child care, one confronts a cultural trait in Greek life — namely, an abhorrence of the naked body. One would think that the descendants of those who honored Phidias and Praxiteles would have a different conception of the body. Few, if any, Greek mothers enjoy the baby's bath as a part of the day's proceedings, for the infant's nakedness is covered as quickly as possible and no joy is taken in seeing its body in motion. This attitude of avoiding nudity persists everywhere, even in the husband-wife relationship, and contrasts strongly with the mixed bathing in the nude which one finds in many cultures or the stress upon the human form in many segments of Western society. Greeks, with whom this trait was discussed, tie it in with the Greek feeling of individualism which demands that some portions of one's personality and even the over-all view of one's body be kept to oneself — not through prudery of false modesty but because some things are never completely shared with another.

The disciplining of children in the Greek villages varies from harshness

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and many other products requiring patient labor.

The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source of labor in the fields, to be employed only when the need is urgent, although regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms due to the help the government is giving in providing fruit trees, opening up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics extension workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house. She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house. One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house, buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if the women had had sufficient time.

Keeping the Family Well

Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother-in-law, with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, as one man put it, "when somebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living standards of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most countries of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated medical discoveries of the modern world.

Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a scientific explanation. As one writer has put it:

> The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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11. At the oven for Sunday afternoon lamb and rice, Attica.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) 963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

committed humanists and assume that once these traits are developed each man will have the strength to face life and its *vasana* (trials and pains). Since they believe that children, by virtue of being human, have these traits inherently, the family's obligation lies in developing the traits to the point where the child, when he becomes an adult, can fend for himself. But until he is capable of independence in this regard he is especially vulnerable, and he is both subjected to the strains which parallel those he will have as an adult and also bolstered by the protective sheltering devices which supplement his own gradually developing abilities.

The process of caring for infants even during the first four months of their lives furnishes illustrations. Vasilika's infants are dressed in diapers and shirts and are than wrapped, with their legs straightened and their arms held down at their side, first in several blankets and then in swaddling bands. The result is a firm but not tight enclosure of the entire baby except for his neck and his head. Mothers explain that the swaddling is meant for the physical protection of the infant against cold and against objects which might hurt him. They also explain that only by restraint of the infant's random movements will he be able to grow straight legs and back.

But when one watches a mother wrap her infant and sees her make the sign of the cross three times with her fist over the baby before putting the swaddling bands on, and when one sees her make a spitting gesture three times toward the infant before placing on the swaddling band itself the blue bead that is supposed to protect against the evil eye, it becomes clear that the process of wrapping an infant is meant to provide a spiritually protective enclosure too.

Babies' helplessness makes them especially penetrable to the evil forces of human envy and under these circumstances external spiritual or even magical forces are believed to be necessary. Children up to adolescence are considered vulnerable, as we have seen, and this is expressed, among other ways, in the encouragement they get to participate in the formal religion of the village. They are brought to some church services as infants (except that both mother and infant are secluded at home and are specifically prohibited from entering the church for the first forty days after birth) and by the time they are three years old, children can stand quietly near an older member of their family through the entire two-hour Sunday liturgy. Parents encourage their children to join the young girls of the village in the Good Friday and Easter preparations as part of an expressed expectation that it will be good for their health. Fractious or complaining children, even when not ill, are thought to be suffering from the effects of the evil eye and may be taken to the priest for a special individual blessing to help dispel the influence.

As we have seen in connection with the blessing of a new house and its permanent sacred corner, God's protection and man's pleas for His grace continue as an accepted part of the life of the adults of the village. Here we may add briefly that this remains true even though adult men attend church services less frequently than women and ritual abstinences during Lent and similar formal requirements of the Greek Orthodox Church are not rigidly or systematically ad-

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

hered to. Vasilika is a settlement in which there is some grumbling about, and some disregard of, the formal requirements of the Church as an institution; but God Himself, *"O papus apano,"* "the grandfather above," as He is sometimes affectionately called, is felt to be close, real, and not wholly inscrutable. He is an omnipresent force in the lives of men. Such phrases as *"Echi o theos,"* "God has (the wherewithal to provide)," fall easily from the villagers' lips as does the attribution to God, rather than to nature as an abstraction, of common physical phenomena: *"Vrechi o theos,"* "God is raining." The magical and spiritual protection which is available for children, then, continues to be available to adults but is considered less necessary and takes on a more formal religious guise.

Adult-Child Relationships

Let us return now to some of the strains that children are under. There are, of course, the ordinary physical hazards of life in a village like Vasilika. Children are kept from getting too close to the fires, to the oven, to other peoples' dogs; they are protected from the harsh effects of the weather. In addition, however, there are the hazards created by the behavior of other human beings. A woman suckling her infant, for example, may let the baby almost start to suck, then pull herself away, then let the child start again, then pull herself away. She may repeat these actions three or four times, talking and laughing as she does so, finally permiting the baby to suckle contentedly only after it has exhibited some discomfort by whimpering or squirming within its swaddling bands.

Such action is the beginning of a long series of similar teasing incidents in early childhood, sometimes connected with food, sometimes with other matters. A father of a two-year-old boy may call him over to have some of the sweet preserve that is being served to guests. The child runs eagerly to his father's knee. The father touches the spoonful of sweet to the child's mouth and as the boy opens his mouth to take the food, the father snatches the spoon away. He may repeat this several times until the child starts to cry. Then he lets the child eat, and hugs and pats him telling him he is a good boy.

In a different kind of situation, several boys of eighteen or nineteen encouraged the three-year-old brother of one of them to start a physical fight with his equally small cousin. The older boys shouted encouragement and made them intensify the pummelling of each other to the point where the children were knocking each other down and bruising themselves on the stones and rough earth of the yard. The little boys started to cry; the older boys laughed and then, still laughing, took the children into their arms and hugged and kissed them, calling them by endearing names. On one occasion, when a government agricultural extension agent was in the village injecting chickens against Newcastle's disease, a father lifted his little two-year-old son into the air, turned him upside down with the child's back facing the agent, and laughingly told

10: Lee E,I-4,5 (no date) 1953
EH1 Greece EH1

IMAGERY OF SELF

The image of the self includes that of the body and of the personality: the person. Life is structured and experienced according to the rhythm and patternings of the body, and ethics are defined by personal relationships, loyalties and roles, just as society is structured according to the physiological relationships of the body. The imagery which a lover uses to describe the body of his beloved is that which is used to praise the personal qualities of an adored leader.

There is no reference to softness in any of the personal folk songs of the Greeks, the dystichs directed toward a loved one, the lullabies, the dirges composed for a relative. The beloved is commonly likened to a tree, sometimes to a fruit tree, but most commonly to a cypress—slim, straight, tall, hard, resistant—"I embrace a cypress tightly," sings a lover. The body is likened to hard, cold substances. The neck of the beloved is made of crystal; the breasts are of marble, in the rare references found in impersonal folk songs. A lover sings: "All night I lay embracing gold."

Firmness and straightness are extremely desirable personal qualities. Babies were swaddled to keep them from going crooked and to make their backs firm. The gesture of mother love is one of holding a firm, stiff, straight bundle against the breast, not the crooking of the arms to accommodate a cuddling body. Firm and straight also is the ideal personality. Parents are urged to be firm of will with their children from birth, and to see that the children develop steadfastness. When Eleutherios Venizelos died, the leading Athenian newspaper wrote: "The cypress is fallen."

Cold, also, is attractive as well as admirable. To call a girl "cold water" is to call her attractive and desirable. Coldness and flowers are on a par in the folk songs, and lovers walk together among the flowers, or on snowy slopes. Hotness means a lack of control, unthinking response. Grief is hot, and tears wither the grass and trees they water. Love as suffering also burns: a lover sighs and 3,000 trees burn up. It is common for a passing youth to say to a girl, "You burn my heart."

The body image is the image of the Greek character. Fortitude and hardihood, firm will, a love of simplicity in food, entertainment, furnishings, the standard of living in general, are common traits. Greeks will smoke only a few cigarettes a day, drink within measure and eat in moderation; excess is disliked. Fortitude is an ever-present quality; the *philotimo* brooks no calculation of danger or pending pain before a step is taken. If a thing is worth doing, the price to be paid for it is irrelevant; and you are able to do it because you are strong and firm. You do not even ask yourself ahead of time whether you have the necessary fortitude; a Greek takes no inventory of himself because from the time he was a baby, his parents saw to it that

is smell which makes the cravings of a pregnant woman not to be denied. A neighbour automatically puts aside a bit of her cooking to send to the pregnant woman next door; and in a grocery store, a customer often offers a "smell" of the olives she has bought to a pregnant customer.

Orderliness is a highly valued quality. Love songs mention the orderly hair, the orderly teeth. The most recent book on child care lays great stress on avoiding the disordering of a child's teeth and facial contours, giving several sketches and photographs of wrong ways of laying the child in bed or postures in sitting at a school desk which might lead to crookedness, and detailed descriptions of specific distortions and their causes. In houses which contain only one room, areas of work and living are carefully specified and maintained through scrupulous order. The Greek equivalent of "set to rights" or "all right" or "under control" is "in order".

The covering of the *philotimo* and the covering of the naked fact find their counterpart, if not their basis, in the body. The body is never naked or, perhaps, only when absolutely necessary. Mothers often arrange to bathe and change the baby without undressing it all at once. The new pediatric practices and the new books on child care demand immersion, but it is all a matter of hygiene; no joy in the naked baby is mentioned anywhere. Conversely, dress, and particularly festive dress, "dress of splendour" and ornamentation, are of great importance, and in fact, are essential to complete the body. When beautiful girls are described, their clothing and their jewellery are given at least as much place as their bodily charms, and are not treated separately; and when a brave youth, a *pallicari*, is mentioned, his trappings are part of the picture. Jewellery and brilliant clothes, woven with gold and silver thread, figure largely in the lullabies, as well as in the love songs and wedding songs. And the lower world which holds no joy is a place where there are no ornamental trappings. The naked body, like the naked word, is stark and grim and incomplete.

The body and the self, the Greek person, delimit, pattern and give shape to relationships and experience. All relationships start with the body and continue along lines of physiological relatedness. They are extended along lines of concrete personal contact. Greeks travel, but mainly along a chain of personal relationships; they go to see a friend of a relative of a friend, and the end, however distant, is concretely linked through persons with the original person. Progress is amelioration of the concretely experienced, or the benefit of immediate relatives or friends or linked persons. The new can be introduced, not for the benefit of mankind or even the Greeks, but for the benefit of people along related lines, and better still, it can be introduced by a known and respected intermediary.

Figures on a chart mean very little to Greeks, and when they refer to people, may even be offensive. Foundations, such as the Near

normal diet. Her relatives should see to it that her days are calm and happy, and that she is surrounded by pictures of beautiful scenery and beautiful people, so that her baby will be beautiful. 843

Pregnancy is pictured here as a period of joyous anticipation. In the morning, after the fourth month, the mother is awakened by her gambolling embryo, who is saying to her, "Wake up, Mama; don't be in a hurry; I am coming gradually and constantly." She takes care of her breasts, massaging them and elongating the nipples, thinking of her baby. She prepares the layette, embroidering the pieces, caressing them and showing them to her visitors, taking joy in them.

Throughout her pregnancy a woman is expected to eat everything she craves. She can knock on any door where she smells cooking food and ask for a "smell". The satirist reporting on the Court of Petty Offences describes a case where a man complains that his neighbour has been pregnant almost steadily for four years, and that her pregnancies are too great a drain on his purse; the judge advises him to move to another location. The case is unusual, but not far-fetched. [843]

There are pre-natal clinics as well as well-baby clinics, maintained by the state in the cities and provincial centres. Midwives are trained in a state institution and work in close co-operation with obstetricians. In many villages, however, there are no trained midwives available, and there is recourse to the "wise woman". The manual, *For the Mother*, gives a list of things to be prepared for a home birth; but many women in the cities, when they can afford it, prefer an obstetrician and a hospital delivery. 844 759 [369]

Childbirth is an occasion of great importance. The mother has something of the Madonna about her now, and is idealized by all, and particularly by her husband, who offers her a second courtship at this time, bringing her special sweets and ornaments. The word *lecho*, describing her through her lochial period, is emotionally charged. Traditionally, a *lecho* is bedridden for eight days, and is under special regulations for the first 40 days. She may not go out until the "40 days" are over, and then she goes first to church. In some areas, no one is allowed to enter the house after sunset, until the 40 days are over. 844 846

Greek babies are swaddled except in very rare cases where a completely foreign manner of upbringing is followed. The newest manuals suggest half swaddling for the three months, that is, swaddling only of the trunk of the body, with legs and arms free. But this much is at any rate considered essential for a straight and firm back. In Athens there is a range of swaddling; simple people often swaddle completely for at least three months, but may leave the baby's arms and legs free by day after the fortieth day. In the village, the old swaddling is practised for the most part, along with the newer ways. Traditionally the baby is swaddled all over, until it is a stiff bundle. Each knee is straightened out; in many regions, each leg is wrapped separately, 854 856 [369]

854 and then the two are wrapped together; the arms are pressed against
856 the sides and then the swaddling cloth is wrapped tightly over all. Swaddling is imperative to make the baby grow straight, tall and strong; most of all to prevent it from becoming crooked.

As we have mentioned, traditional and scientific opinion agree that the baby must never be held nestling in the crook of the arm until it can sit up by itself. The gesture of mother love is not that of the curved arms. Even an unswaddled baby is held like a long stiff bundle against the body within an imaginary swaddling band. In villages, babies are often carried in slings, lying stiffly against the mother's hip and swinging with her walk; or they are carried standing in the sling against her back. The Greek cradle is a swing, which can be moved near to where the mother is working, so that she can pull the rope to rock it. At night it is put beside her bed. The pediatricians inveigh strongly against its use, considering that it spoils the baby, urging the use of bassinets and cribs.

853 It is important that the baby be breast-fed; in fact this is taken for granted. According to the child care manuals, it is extremely rare for a mother to have no milk, and slightly less rare that she have
[369] not enough milk. The city pediatricians find it necessary, however, to make impassioned pleas for the mother's own milk, pointing out the dangers incurred in engaging a wet-nurse, the criminality towards one's own baby, who has an inherited right to his mother's milk, and the crime against the baby of the wet-nurse, who has been left in the village without a mother. Women are reminded that the great Homeric mothers, Hecuba and Penelope, suckled their own children. Some factories have baby nurseries, mainly to enable mothers to nurse their own children. When supplementary feeding is needed, it is to be given with a spoon, lest the baby find the rubber nipple
[362] easier and refuse the breast. Asses' milk is recommended as nearest to mother's milk; cow's and goat's milk are recommended next to this.

Traditionally, the baby is given *glykanisso*, anise water, and camomile the first day, and is allowed to suck the colostrum the second day. Pediatricians urge that all ingestion should begin with suckling and that no other food be given. Babies are to receive no solid food until the sixth or even the eighth month. Nursing is recommended until the fourteenth month, or even up to two years; and the two year
[364] period is traditional. Weaning is gradual; pediatricians as well as tradition recommend the smearing of bitter stuff, perhaps quinine, on the nipple, or the offering of sweetened milk. Nursing need not
[343] be interrupted for a pregnancy and, in fact, may be good for the growing embryo. Juices of every variety of available fruit are recommended at three or four months, as well as strained vegetable soups. Traditionally, the baby joins the family at mealtime as soon as he can sit up; he is allowed to eat of the family meal, given choice slowly and carefully. At first, hard crusts and bones only are allowed,

so that fragments will not lodge in his throat. The pediatricians urge against this practice. They also urge rigid scheduling of feedings. The behaviourist principles of child rearing fit into the value of firmness, the feeding schedule falls in with the training of fortitude, and is introduced in the name of self-discipline, as well as for giving the mother freedom, that is leisure and freedom from encroachment. Few mothers, however, fall in with these schedules. 853

Toilet training is not mentioned in the two current manuals on child care. Mothers report that they begin training for urination at five or six months. Training for the bowel movement does not come until the child can sit by himself. Help in learning how to speak is suggested and described at length, but none for walking. Greek mothers do encourage their children to walk, however, and a folk rhyme says that a baby, "lest it be shamed," takes to the wall and walks at seven months. The manuals devote much space to character training; obedience is taught first, almost from birth; it is the parents' task to mould the character of the child, to be firm and unyielding. Mothers are urged not to be indulgent or overprotective. 863 856 [868] 867 [855]

The manuals devote about a third of their space to illness and home care. Under illness are listed sleeplessness, enuresis, thumbsucking, night terror, lack of appetite. Enuresis is said to come from irritation of the urethra, thumbsucking to begin around the fifth month from irritation of the gums. 863 753

In recent years, mothers have been urged to spend more time with their babies and to do more things for them. Among the urban well-to-do this means that mothers are urged to bathe, feed, and suckle their babies themselves. For other groups, this would mean a displacement; the children are usually with the mother, working with her and sharing experience with her; but to give them her undivided attention she would have to change basic attitudes, the accepted place of the child within the family and his assumed share in all its functions; and she must reorient the entire system of roles within the family. 854 ● 182 [369]

The mother apparently takes no delight in the naked baby, in touching its skin or watching its movements when freed from the swaddling cloth. Traditionally the baby, like the adult, is never naked. The baby's bath is not a special occasion of delight. In her lullabies, the mother shows no delight in any part of the child. She speaks of the joys of gardens, flowers, herbs and trees, but most of all, she tells of the rich clothes and adornments she is ordering from strange lands. She dreams of her daughter's wedding and her son's education. To the visitor, the baby consists of arms and legs; she says, first making appropriate allowances for the evil eye: "How his arms and legs have grown!" The mother coos and signs to her baby and smiles a special smile; she kisses his hands, she holds him in her arms. She calls him "My little gold, my little angel, my little bird, my little love"; she uses no terms derived from the sense of taste, unless she is a refugee 854 [291] [784]

854 from the interior of Turkey. On the other hand, she will say: "That I might eat you!"

855 861 It is extremely important for a child not to shame its parents. A mother, after a visit is over, will say to her child: "Bravo, my good child, you have not shamed me!" or "Bad child, you have shamed me." A child is addressed as "*my* good one", but when naughty, merely as "bad one". In fact, children usually learn early to behave in the [784] presence of visitors. They are used to hearing their mothers praise them in their presence, and they expect to be asked to stand up on a chair and recite a poem or sing; such performances are carefully praised, with the precaution of symbolic spitting, to circumvent the evil eye. Children are also used to hearing themselves criticized bluntly by visitors.

The Greek child is given freedom in his behaviour, with the limits supplied by personal relationships. It is not wrong to be boisterous and noisy, but it is wrong to be so when Father does not like it, or during a visit, or when it disrupts Mother's work. The child is always on the periphery, never in the centre; the wishes of the elder members come first. A good child listens to his parents, runs mother's errands. He may be rewarded with a piece of candy, but small gifts of this sort are given so freely that the reward does not stand out. He is told folk tales of the little goat who disobeyed his mother, or the little lamb who obeyed, or the mother may invent such moral tales for the child.

861 Obedience to the father, the mother, older siblings, the older relatives and friends of the family in general, is very important. The dis- [865] obedient child "eats wood", but it is probably only the father who might pick up a stick with which to strike the child. A mother certainly does not give the child the equivalent of a whipping, though she may strike the child with whatever she happens to have in her hand. Usually she will merely shout at the naughty child, threatening to kill him. The child will run away, the mother will run after him, catch him by the ear and pull him back, or reach out and slap his face (*batso*, slap-on-the-cheek, is very common, as is ear-pulling). The child howls, but presently comes back to the subject of the disagreement; he is not cowed. After a series of violent threats and withering curses, the mother will hug the child. This is not seen as rejection, and any lurking hostility is given full vent.

852 553 Every baby is baptized as early as possible; until baptism the child is called a "little dragon"; it has no name. Naming comes only with [608] baptism. The occasion is an important religious and social one. The godparent is chosen carefully, since this is a relationship which lasts for life, and broadens the all-important relationship circle for the child.

865 593 When a new baby is expected, the mother may tell the knee baby[1]

[1] "Knee baby" is a term used for the penultimate child, who stands at the mother's knee while the youngest child is held on her lap.

that he is to have a little sibling; or she may simply wait until the birth, and explain that the midwife brought the sibling. The knee baby is openly expected to be jealous, and visitors inquire in his presence whether he is so. When he sees the mother suckling the new baby, he may cry for suck too; in this case the mother will invite him to suckle on the other side, or offer him a piece of bread; or, if she knows him to be jealous or sickly, she may invite him on her own initiative. Such jealousy apparently does not last long. The knee baby is already used to having his mother shout at him and then treat him with warmth and gentleness; he does not find this condition changed. The mother makes no effort to hide her delight in the new baby, to share herself equally, with fairness. Instead, she invites the knee baby to share in her wonder and excitement over the new baby. He has already been sharing in her everyday life and work, and he shares in this also. Gradually, he takes on her attitude, the cherishing, loving, responsible attitude which characterizes the relationship of older to younger siblings in Greece.

There is a magazine addressed to parents, now in its fourth year; but Greek newspapers carry no child care sections, either on weekdays or Sundays. Of the magazines, only those catering to non-intellectuals, such as *Romanza*, carry child and maternal care information; the articles are usually translations from foreign articles. The material is generally developed on behaviouristic principles, stressing scheduling and isolation of the baby.

EDUCATION

Education is perhaps the most prized good in Greece, and above all, professional education. The doctor, the lawyer, the engineer and the specialist have high standing and command large dowries. A university professor has high standing; a schoolteacher has the respect of the people, but has lost some of the standing which he had before education became centralized. The printed word is very important, even revered. It is traditionally so; the calends of Saint Basil, sung on the night of 31 December, represent the Saint as carrying a book and paper and ink-well. The lullabies often promise the baby boy a high education, the baby girl an educated bridegroom. In a folk song, a girl, rejecting a suitor, says she will marry only an educated man.

There has been universal compulsory education up to the sixth grade since 1911,[1] but the peasants, particularly the women, are reported to be largely illiterate. This is due only in part to the fact that money for girls goes into dowry rather than for further schooling.

[1] John Maurogordato, 1931, p. 85.

178 out the mote to which the peasant's eye has become accustomed, and even has to take in consideration the fact that the eye is actually adjusted to the mote, and that its removal would mean at least temporary disruption.

[157] There is another side to the picture with respect to coping. Greeks are tenacious and resourceful in making the best of what they do have. A visitor reports that a gasoline tank that sprang a leak on the road was repaired with *loukoums*, the sticky Near Eastern candy; she reports having seen two men pushing freight cars along a railroad track, as the engine had been destroyed in the guerilla warfare. This attitude can be harnessed productively, and with benefit for people who derive a sense of enjoyment and achievement from it.

178 829 [195] The sanction of the Church in inaugurating any change is essential; and so too, is that of the past, in endorsing practice, as well as a precedent for the introduction of change. It is well to remember that Byzantium and its civilization was part of the Greek past; and to remember that Rome was not. The Romans were barbarians; the manual on child care which urges mothers to suckle their babies like Penelope and the Trojan Hecuba, also urges them to give up the custom of swaddling the child's limbs, a barbarous and tyrannical custom practised by the ancient Romans. The past is mentioned in learned articles, in newspapers, in letters, in the oratorical conversation. It is part of the festive dressing of the naked statement.

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177 178 577 The areas of vulnerability of the Greek *philotimo* must be remembered in all suggestions of change, as well as the pattern of relationships within which dependency is good and taken for granted. Greeks are ready to be treated as sons or nephews or younger brothers, within the balanced system of interdependency, and the United States Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), which has been giving welcome aid to Greece, just now is often spoken of as Uncle Truman, after the President of the United States; but it would be an insult to treat them as poor relations who are dependent through personal failure. Again, to be treated mechanistically, impersonally, is offensive; there is resentment at the fact that some of the foreign experts stay at hotels catering to foreigners, associate only with Greeks who follow foreign ways, and treat the rest of the people like figures on a chart.

178 It is necessary to bear in mind that the Greeks have a deep attachment to their way of life, however much in need of change it may be in terms of more recent scientific and economic developments. There

[312] [365] are reports that in the provinces people who can afford to pipe water to their houses will not do so because they do not want to deprive their women of the social visit at the fountain, and of the walk back and forth. There are communities that decide not to have electricity, not to buiid a hotel to accomodate the tourists who are attracted by the beauty of the place, so that they can retain the ways they like, time-consuming as they are.